A Plea for Arab Refugees, P. 2

Where Churchill Split East And West, C.P. Snow Calls On Them To Unite Against Famine

"We may be moving—perhaps in 10 years—into large scale famine . . . Many millions of people in the poor countries are going to starve to death before our eyes . . . upon our television sets . . . To avoid the catastrophe . . . there has to be something . . . more positive than co-existence between the two great power centres . . . To avert the crisis is going to mean sacrifices such as rich countries have never contemplated, except in major war . . . It is the duty of all the rest of us . . . to keep before the world its long-term fate. Peace. Food. No more people than the earth can take."

—C. P. Snow, Nov. 12, at Westminster College, Fulton, Mo., where Churchill 22 years ago in his famous Iron Curtain speech launched the cold war.

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NATO, the Poor Czechs and the Arms Race

The first question to ask is: Is the USSR stronger or weaker because of the Czech takeover? It is weaker. In the first place, in a political crisis, the Czech army proved to be unreliable, and the takeover had to be by Soviet troops. This must cast a shadow over the rest of the Warsaw pact. How reliable would the Polish army be in a similar crisis? In the murky Polish situation, Soviet interests seem to be threatened from two sides. Those who want liberalization are anti-Moscow. But so, Moscow fears, are the die-hards under Moczar; the same extreme Polish nationalism among these Communist right-wingers which expresses itself in anti-Semitism also expresses itself though more covertly in anti-Russianism. No one knows about the East German army, but Germans are even more anti-Russian than Poles. The Czech takeover, like a flash of lightning, suddenly illuminated the rifts in the Warsaw pact. Nationalism is a stronger force than Communism even where Communists are in power. Soviet military "efficiency"—against deep but passive resistance—is not as important as the political weakness revealed.

It's Not A Military Problem

The basic imbalance between East and West is not military but technological. Here, too, the Czech takeover weakened the Soviet bloc. Of all the Slav peoples, the Czechs have the most skilled labor force. Their economy has stagnated because they need the kind of machinery only the West can supply and because too many party hacks have been in control of the factories. Had the Czechs been allowed to go through with their plans for a half-billion dollar Western credit for machinery and with the establishment of workers' councils in the factories both these problems could have been solved. If the Russians want all the Western machine tools they can get, why not the Czechs? The changes would have given the Soviet bloc an increase in industrial efficiency and labor morale. It would have made the Czechs and Slovaks more rather than less loyal, as would the political liberalization. The Russian bureaucracy is too fearful to take this route. The route they have chosen means more unrest not only in Czechoslovakia but in the Soviet Union itself and in the alienation of the Western Communist parties.

The second question is: What could NATO have done to "save" the Czechs? The answer is nothing. I do not believe the Western powers were taken by surprise. Enough has been leaked by intelligence agencies in their own defense to indicate that they knew what was coming. It is hard to believe that Washington was not explicitly informed in advance by Moscow to avoid the risk of a great Power confrontation. The State Department and the White House have been distinctly unfriendly to the Czechs because they have aided the other side in Johnson's war; there was a smug satisfaction in some quarters here that the Czechs had gotten what they deserved. It is only after the fact that Washington has made a great-to-do about the Czech takeover, not because it has any sympathy for Prague but because it sees this as a means of pushing the other NATO powers into spending more on arms and relieving some of the burden on the U.S. in manning the front lines in West Europe.

Even with this pressure, the Brussels meeting of the NATO powers only elicited pledges of an increase in arms spending of perhaps one percent. The reason is twofold. The first is that the NATO powers already have an enormous edge in military power. The report prepared for Senator John Cooper

(Continued on Page Four)

The Curtis LeMay of U. S. Diplomacy

It would be naive to assume that the delay in the Vietnam peace talks is entirely due to the Saigon junta. The U.S. military are using the withdrawal of Northern forces for offensive "pacification" operations. They believe the longer a settlement is delayed, the more the Viet Cong will be weakened. Thieu may also be encouraged to hold out until Nixon takes over by the emergence of Robert D. Murphy—a retired cold warrior—as Nixon's foreign policy liaison with the Johnson administration. Richard Dudman in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch Nov. 17 says a former senior colleague in the State Department called Murphy "the Curtis LeMay of the diplomatic set." Mr. Dudman cites Murphy's memoirs, "Diplomat Among Warriors" (1964). Murphy was political adviser to Gen. Clark in Korea when Eisenhower decided to negotiate peace. Murphy called this "a bitter pill to swallow" and thought the U.S. should have used all its power, including nuclear weapons, for a clear cut victory. Mr. Dudman also reports that last March after the Tet offensive all but two of the senior consultants to Johnson on Vietnam concluded that the war was not winnable and should be ended as soon as possible. The two bitter-enders were Justice Fortas and Murphy.

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As Inexorably As If Written By Sophocles, Palestine moves toward tragedy for both Jew and Arab. The latest Arab terrorist outrage in Jerusalem came at a particularly bad moment. For U Thant at the United Nations and the representatives of the United States and the United Kingdom had just appealed a few days earlier to Israel to allow some 250,000 Arabs who fled across the Jordan in last year's six-day war to return to their homes on the West Bank or to the refugee camps in the warm Jordan valley which had previously housed many of them. This would save them from the terrible rigors of winter in poorly improvised shelters on the wind-swept Jordanian highlands. Both the Security Council and the General Assembly have passed resolutions unanimously asking for their return to be facilitated and Israel's Foreign Minister Eban promised the Assembly on October 8 to speed action on reunion of families and "hardship" cases. Hardship is the lot of all, hardship all too easy to understand for those who remember as I do the cold and squalid refugee camps for "displaced" Jews in Europe after the war.

A Gentle and Painful Reproof

There is a gentle and painful reproof in the appeal of Mr. Wiggins, the U.S. representative on behalf of these poor Arabs. "The government of Israel and the people of Israel," he told the UN's Special Political Committee Nov. 18, "can never be counted among the governments and people who lack knowledge and understanding of the miseries of the exiled, the orphaned, the persecuted and the homeless. They have been instructed by a thousand years of history . . . As another winter descends on the refugees, surely their plight will touch the hearts, move the minds and overcome the fears of Israel and inspire an act of generosity and confidence that will give the whole world an example of humanity and magnanimity." There are nearly 50,000 vacancies in the Jericho camps alone, where the climate is warm even in the winter. Empty homes await others on the West Bank. Their return would provide a political climate in which new solutions would become possible for peaceful cooperation between Israel and the occupied West Bank. Such magnanimity might accomplish what military victory alone can never do. The future could be shaped for the better if Jewish voices abroad strengthen the humane and thoughtful in Israel by adding their voices for this Arab return before another cruel winter adds to the rising toll of misery and of hate. We hope the Israeli government will go beyond its token offer to take back 7,000 more.

Nixon Plot Against The Soviet Air Force

"The F-111 in a Nixon Administration will be made into one of the foundations of our air supremacy."

—Nixon at Fort Worth (where General Dynamics makes the F-111), Nov. 2.

Sen. Russell (chairman of the Senate Appropriations subcommittee on defense): Mr. Secretary on p. 16 of your statement, you discuss the F-111A aircraft. How many of them have we sent over Southeast Asia?

Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown: We sent six and have sent two replacements.

Sen. Russell: You have lost three, so you have five?

Sec'y Brown: There are five there now. . .

Sen. Russell: Would it be a very serious matter if one of these planes were recovered by any potential enemy in a reasonably good condition?

Gen. McConnell, Air Force Chief of Staff: Yes, we have got quite a few things in it that we wouldn't want the enemy to get . . .

Sen. Russell: I was hoping if they got a F-111 they would fabricate some of them as near ours as they could and see if they had as much trouble as we did. It would put their Air Force out of business.

—Pt. 1, p. 103 of the Senate hearings on the 1969 defense budget recently released. There was no reply from either the General or the Secretary to Senator Russell's little joke, which reflects majority sentiment among Senators dealing with defense matters.

For The First Time Since The Nigerian Civil War began, 22 leading French Leftists of various shadings have issued a joint manifesto, attacking England, the Soviet Union and Egypt for their military support of the Nigerians. The manifesto (*Le Monde*, Nov. 20) declares the civil war has become a genocidal struggle to wipe out the Ibo people. We hope American Leftists will follow suit.

How Shameful The Reluctance of the U.S. to speak up in the Panagoulis affair! The Pope, the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, André Malraux, the Ambassadors in Athens of Belgium, Holland and West Germany have all appealed to the Greek dictatorship on behalf of this brave young man who tried to kill the dictator, Gen. Papadapoulas. His fate is still uncertain, though his immortality in Greek annals is assured for his bravery and his refusal to ask clemency. The U.S. is muted because this bloody regime is our "frontier of freedom" in the Mediterranean.

Footnote For That Speech About How We're Defending Self-Determination in Vietnam

"Even some Government officials who oppose negotiating with the Viet Cong admit that on the issue of peace there's little doubt where public sentiment lies. 'The masses want peace,' concedes one civil-servant. 'If it were possible to hold a poll in which the people could freely express their opinion, they would overwhelmingly want President Thieu to do whatever is necessary to bring peace as soon as possible.'

"U.S. officials did in fact, conduct a small poll here recently, interviewing about two dozen Vietnamese ranging from high-ranking civil servants to truck drivers. Their report concluded that among those born in South Vietnam, the U.S. bombing halt was greeted with 'unqualified enthusiasm' and there was 'little sympathy' for President Thieu's boycott of the Paris talks. The government has made some effort to win public sympathy for its position but there is little sign of success. Several days ago, the regime organized a rally to support the boycott of peace talks. The crowd consisted of less than 1,000 civil servants who had been given the morning off with instructions to attend. Though surrounding streets and sidewalks were clogged with normal traffic, only a few passersby showed any interest in the patriotic speeches.

"In the context of Vietnamese politics, however, the mood of the man-in-the-street majority isn't nearly as important as the demands of some much smaller groups. Catholic refugees from the North, the army officer corps and other militant groups are highly organized minorities and their influence on government policy is profound."

—Peter R. Kann from Saigon: Wall St. Journal *Nov. 14.*

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U.S. Concentration Camps

THERE IS SO MUCH HYSTERICAL TALK, particularly by black militants, about concentration camps that a therapeutic service will be performed by the suit which a group of radical organizations, black and white, have just filed in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia asking a declaratory judgment holding the detention camp provisions of the 1950 Internal Security Act unconstitutional. Are the six camps set up on a standby basis in 1952 under the Act still ready for this sinister use or have they been "phased out" as the Justice Dept contends? Is it true as alleged in the suit that the FBI has a master list of 500,000 suspects established in that year for an "Operation Dragnet" which is kept up to date? Only in open court can the full truth be ascertained. The Detention Camp provisions of the Act, which passed over Truman's veto shortly after the Korean war began, is the maddest product of those witch hunt years. It would allow the government in time of war, "Internal Security emergency" or insurrection to intern any persons suspected of "probably" engaging at some future time in "espionage or sabotage." Never before in American law has there been a provision providing imprisonment for *possible prospective* crime. It has been assumed for years that this law was so clearly unconstitutional that the government would never dare use it. But it is far better to test the law now, than to wait for some new period of reaction when the Courts themselves may be intimidated or infected. The Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, 22 E. 17th St, NYC 10003, can furnish more information to lawyers and others interested.

WHEN THE BLACKSTONE RANGERS MISSPEND a few thousand dollars of anti-poverty funds the Senate rings with speeches and the press plays it as a major news story. But when defense contractors make profits of 43% on contracts in the $10 billion range the collective yawn can be heard throughout the Establishment. In the hearings on defense profits being held by Senator Proxmire, it was brought out that although Defense Dept. contracts amount to $43 billion a year, "no complete and comprehensive study . . . has ever been made on profit actually realized by defense contractors."

The Positively Ultimate Nuclear Disaster

"Washington—If a nuclear holocaust were to wipe out most of the humans on earth, Senator Richard Russell (D. Ga.) would like to make sure that the survivors are Americans. Or, as he put it during an October 14 secret meeting of the Senate [to debate the antiballistic missile; Russell voted $5.5 billion for the "thin" Sentinel system—IFS]:

"'If we have to start over again with another Adam and Eve, then I want them to be Americans and not Russians, and I want them to be on this continent and not in Europe.'"

—From the Army Times, *November 20.*

But what if the unimaginable, the ultimate horror occurred and the American "Adam" turned out to be a Negro?

A study made by the McNamara-established Logistics Management Institute stated that the profit rate by defense contractors was less than that enjoyed by commercial firms but Prof. Murray Weidenbaum testified that this finding was based upon profit related to sales rather than net worth. John Malloy, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Procurement, said that he didn't "believe a new study is needed" on excess defense profits. While we were reading through the hearings an elderly staff member of the Proxmire Committee assured a visiting businessman that there was "no urgency" surrounding the hearings, and that Nixon "wouldn't come over here at all" with his embryonic commission on government cost-cutting. This ranks among the leading certainties of the new Administration.

"HOW ABOUT JUSTICE?" J. Edgar Hoover was asked after his visit with Nixon (CBS Eve. News with Walter Cronkite Nov. 14). His answer should prove as classic as Marie Antoinette's let'em-eat-cake. "Justice", Mr. Hoover replied, "is merely incidental to law and order." This perfectly reflects the state of the mind behind the current cry for "law and order." In a limited sense, of course, it is true. But the fallacious implications become apparent if one puts the proposition in the negative form. Could one reasonably assert that *in*justice is merely incidental to *dis*order?

The Catholic Bishops, Justice Douglas and Senator McGovern All Oppose the ABM

"It is to be hoped that the early ratification by the Senate of the Non-Proliferation Treaty . . . will hasten discussion of across the board reductions by the big powers. Despite, and even because of, the provocations in Eastern Europe and elsewhere, the U.S. should continue steps to create a better climate for these discussions . . .

"The latest act in the continuing nuclear arms race is no doubt the U.S. decision to build a 'thin' anti-ballistic missile system. This decision has been widely interpreted as the prelude to a 'thick' ABM system . . . In themselves, such anti-ballistic missiles are purely defensive . . . Nevertheless by upsetting the present strategic balance, the so-called balance of terror, there is grave danger that a U.S. ABM system will incite other nations to increase their offensive nuclear forces with the seeming excuse of a need to restore the balance."

—U.S. Conference of Bishops (R.C.), Nov. 15.

"The manufacture of these systems of missile defense will make the military-industrial complex rich, will result in the production of huge piles of junk and will be meaningless in terms of survival."

—Mr. Justice Douglas, chairing a discussion of the ABM, at the Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions, in New York City, Nov. 19.

"For more than a decade the pressure had been directed at Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson. Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy wisely resisted the demands for the Nike-Zeus ABM. If they had surrendered, we would have wasted an estimated $30 billion on a system that would now be completely worthless. I am confident that the system now being pressed will prove equally obsolete and ineffective but even more costly and dangerous.

"I believe that when President Johnson finally yielded last year to the ABM deployment pressure, he committed what will prove to be next to the Vietnam escalation the major blunder of his Administration. President-Elect Nixon could perform a major service if he would begin his Administration by ending the war in Vietnam and reversing the ill-advised deployment of the ABM."

—Sen. McGovern at the same discussion meeting.

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Tito Wants Both U.S. and Soviet Navies Out of the Mediterranean Sea

(Continued from Page One)

by Alain Enthoven, assistant secretary of defense, in October for Cooper's meeting with NATO parliamentarians did argue for some improvement in conventional forces, though it also got Enthoven into trouble with the military.* The report showed that, aside from the Vietnam war, the NATO forces were already spending $75 billion a year on arms against the Warsaw pact's $50 billion and had 5,470,000 men under arms as against the Warsaw pact's 4,200,000, including naval forces almost twice as big, air forces a third larger and even 105,000 more men in the Army and Marines. The disparity in nuclear power is even greater. The U.S. alone has 4,206 deliverable nuclear weapons against the USSR's 1,200.

No Limited Conflict

The second reason for the reluctance to build up even more power arises from the West European conviction that a war for Western Europe, the biggest industrial prize in the world, could not be limited to conventional arms so there is no point in buying more of them. As for the nuclear arms, these have long past the point of diminishing returns. "What is the meaning of 'superiority'," Wm. C. Foster of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency asked the Business Council in Hot Springs, Va. Oct. 19, "when both sides can, under any circumstances, inflict 100 million casualties." A nuclear war for Europe would destroy Europe and be the mutual suicide of the two great Powers. Therefore each tacitly shuts its eyes to what the other does in its own sphere of influence. The U.S. is not going to plunge into a holocaust for Czechoslovakia, Rumania or Yugoslavia.

Detente is still the only path to Europe's salvation. Europe would be better off without the NATO and the Warsaw pacts. What Moscow does in East Europe under cover of the Warsaw pact is what we do in Latin America under cover of the Monroe Doctrine; the latter is our equivalent of Moscow's new "Socialist commonwealth" doctrine, as so many Latins from Fidel Castro to Juan Bosch have learned. The Russians want to negotiate before the nuclear arms race sets off on a new spiral with the ABM and the multiple warhead; we should negotiate. The higher the level of these arms the more terrible the devastation to both and all sides. Even Tito, the most menaced by the new Moscow hard line, told *Paris-Match* in an interview (Nov. 16), "the cold war leads to the hot war" and suggested that he would like to see both the American and Soviet fleets out of the Mediterranean (as has the Foreign Minister of Spain). "I fear," Tito said, "that one day they will clash." Even if such a clash were kept limited, it might devastate the Mediterranean lands for both navies have nuclear arms. The "ultimate solution of the problems of the world," Defense Secretary Clifford said on ABC's *Issues and Answers* Nov. 24 when he advocated arms control talks with Moscow despite the Czech affair, "does not lie in larger armaments." We agree.

* The report, dated Oct. 22, said the Czech takeover had made no major change either in the short or long term threat to "NATO's center region" and instead showed some reduction in "net threat" because the Czech army had proved unreliable. In a new letter of November 7, Enthoven said this had been "misunderstood" and took it back.

The Bishops Reply To Nixon

"For us deliberately to let a weaker but basically expansionist nation achieve parity with us indicates an erosion of our commitment and will . . . We cannot accept this [parity] concept and survive as a free people . . . I intend to restore our objective of clear-cut military superiority."

—Nixon's Security Gap speech over CBS, Oct. 24.

"We seriously question whether the present policy of maintaining nuclear superiority is meaningful for security. There is no advantage to be gained by nuclear superiority, however it is computed, when each side is admittedly capable of inflicting overwhelming damage on the other, even after being attacked first. Such effective parity has been operative for some years. Any effort to achieve superiority only leads to ever higher levels of armaments as it forces the side with the lesser capability to seek to maintain its superiority. In the wake of this comes a decrease in both stability and security."

—U.S. Conference of Bishops (RC) Nov. 15.

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